The Role of Religion for an Alternative Sustainable Governance Theory[1]

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Abstract. In post-modern times, there has been much empirical evidence to indicate that religions and faiths play a pro-active role in the field of civil society but more importantly in the development of societies, which is a major factor in political and economic development of a country, as well as its governance. Accordingly, the contemporary reality of plurality demands a fresh look into the narratives of different civilisations, cultures and ideologies, rather than imposed meta-narratives of modernity. Hence, explorations of religion and faith to develop an alternative notion of "good governance" from "other's" worldview are also necessary. Much could be learned from cultures, religions and faiths in the realm of governance studies from the phenomenological perspective. This paper is an attempt to explore how religion could play its functional role to create a sustainable governance concept based on values and ethics. It will look into the situation of religion at present, and how it fits into the framework of governance, and the arguments will be supported by examples and evidence of the viability of the relation between religion and governance.
Keywords: anomie, culture, deprivatization of religion, desecularization, ethics, Eurocentric

INTRODUCTION

Some critics perceive western discourses of governance as deeply rooted in the worldview that neglects the elements of culture and values. Culture, values and religion are considered as inadequate with the universal barometer of modernity and development. The critics of Bretton Wood's version of "good governance" describe the situation as a "new-colonialism" agenda imposed by liberal, Western-dominated international institutions. It represents the "hegemony of Eurocentric culture," which is characterized by larger picture of economic stratification, military inequality, disproportionate emphasis on European ideologies, proliferation of Western-derived systems of education, consumerism and lifestyle (Mazrui, 2001). In fact, modernity as a political and intellectual project, has a long tradition of dominating, excluding and misunderstanding the non-West. This

stance seems to imply that modernisation is not merely a structural transformation but also a practice based on discursive formations such as the cultural, knowledge, economic and political superiority of the West. Western values and beliefs were imposed and forced upon others, specifically the Third World as a means of saving them from their underdevelopment and backwardness (Schech and Haggis, 2000: xii).

In the same manner, within the framework of the "good governance" agenda, governance is good if it suits the philosophy designed by the Bretton Woods institutions according to the values they believe in. However, those values might not suit the nature of some underdeveloped societies or states in improving their performances in social, political and economic fields. Some reports suggest that certain programmes imposed on those countries not only worsened their situation but have resulted in new problems (George and Sabelli, 1994: 142−61). Lack of "indigenity" and culture characteristics in tackling underdevelopment issues has been identified amongst the lacunae within current good governance projection by other outstanding researchers and international reports (UNDP, 1994; Blunt, 1995; Dwivedi, 2001 and 2002; Schech and Haggis, 2000). Hence, an exploration of the panacea based on the values of the society is justified for its potential to cure the situation.

In post-modern times there has been much empirical evidence to indicate that religions and faiths play a pro-active role in the civil society; more importantly in the development of societies, which is a major factor in the development of a country, as well as its governance (Gaush-Pasha, 2005). Religion as a form of ethical doctrine could potentially provide the "internal good" for development through its doctrines on social cohesion, mutual co-operation and virtue-based community. In practice, the process of governance is not an axiological neutral human activity, but like other activities, it is impregnated with values and ethics (Cortina, 2007). Consequently, apart from mainstream liberal economic ethics (i.e. efficiency, competitiveness, economic growth, human rights, etc.) there are other traditional, culturally-constructed and religious ethics that are worth incorporating into the discourse in order to respond to the realities of each society for it to reach an acceptable and efficient solution for itself. It is through this premise that the Aristotelian concept of *praxis* is worth employing to explain how ethics and tradition can encourage a society to cooperate to attain *telos* (*internal goods*).[2]

Stiglitz (1998) argues that cultural values should be preserved due to their essential function as a cohesive force for development at a time when many other values are weakening. Rationally, culture and values that enhance both human and social capital will generate public order through the production of good citizens who live in mutual cooperation and assistance, transcending conflicts that mount up to establish social stability (Coleman, 1990; Newton, 1997). Casson (1993) points out that culture as "collective subjectivity" will enhance efficiency through good behaviour, integrity, honesty, trust and cooperation that will have a great impact on economic performance. In the same way, Throsby (2001) suggests that culture will provide objectives for group development through certain worldviews, values and beliefs, and it will also affect economic efficiency by affecting behaviour, innovation, group dynamics and decision-making processes.

It is according to this reason that UNESCO (1997) suggested in its 29th General Conference Report that culture (if it is being strengthened and supported) could be an enormous potential key element, as a social capital, in the struggle against poverty. The same concern was voiced by the then President of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn, (Kliksberg, 2000: 12) who emphasised the essentiality of the independence of growth and social development and further suggests that: "Without parallel social development, there will be no satisfactory economic development." On another occasion, Wolfensohn stressed the significance of social development through social justice and equality to complement the institutional and structural reform for political-economic growth and human prosperity. Social capital and culture, thus, are key components of these interactions (Kliksberg, 2000: 12). It should be noted that these differences also highlight the distinction between "economic growth and development."

Recent global religious uprisings have demanded a restructuring of faiths and values in the fields from which they were once banished (Casanova, 1994; Berger, 1999; Falk, 2001). As a result, exploration of the possibility of incorporating culture or religion specifically into the public sphere is no longer taboo. However, this new uprising, or what is termed by Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2010) as the return of God or "God is back," emerges in a different form from that it took during the pre-Enlightenment periods. This global phenomenon is represented by the re-appearance of religions in the form of ethics, values and many other functioning forms rather than the previous institutional structure. This new form of religion usurps the realm of politics, economy, education,

international affairs and governance without diminishing the existing structures. Religions from this new perspective are no longer mere beliefs in miraculous rescue from above (*deus ex machina*) but rather a vehicle for human betterment (Falk, 2001: 32).

These elements give the human race a "sacred canopy" against the threat of the lack of meaning (*anomie*) of the world and accordingly will lead the society to appreciate the innate precariousness of the *nomos* (meaningful order) (Berger, 1967: 28). For example, the relation between Islamic values and the issue of governance that is the product of Islamic worldview has a great deal of historical experience that is worth exploring. The same can be applied to the rich Confucianism-oriented Chinese culture and philosophy derived from the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Similarly, the Dharma-based Indian values articulated from Kautilya and Ashoka wisdoms regarding political and administrational affairs are additional invaluable sources by which ideals can be enhanced. The list goes on to include other cultures and faiths (Harris, 1990; Sen, 1998; Frederickson, 2002; Dellios, 2005).

Similarly, various researchers have dedicated their studies to the new role that religions can play in development (Haynes, 2007; Khan and Bashar, 2008). Many empirical studies have been undertaken on these topics and most of them indicate that religions, through faith-based or faith-inspired organisations and movements, have not significant contribution to development. Amongst their outstanding contributions, those often quoted by many researchers have mainly been about tackling poverty, improving education, providing welfare services to the community, enhancing humanitarian works, and encouraging political participation in the struggle against corruption and misadministration (Gutiérrez, 1988; Akhtar, 1991; Casanova, 1994; Rowland, 1999; Phongphit, 1988; Gillingham, 2005; Marshall, 2005: 8-12; Bayat, 2007; Harrigan and El-Said, 2009).

RELIGION AND GOVERNANCE: NEW TYPOLOGY, A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY

Under the modernity project, religion has been perceived as a dogma that is against rational or universal (liberal) values that is not welcomed in the public sphere, or more precisely in the political-economic fields. Such precepts are to be understood from the historical perspective as mentioned in the previous chapter of the failure of church-state domina-

tion over the people. Initially, since the decline of religious domination on Western soil, the constant struggle to eliminate religion as a whole from the public sphere became a norm in the major discourse of philosophers, scholars and most Western thinkers.

Despite the initial goal of those who waged this struggle to constrain and deprive the hegemony of religion in secular arts and sciences, and other "worldly" realms, Kant brought this struggle to a new dimension with a compromising formulation. Through his transcendental idealism, religion was acknowledged as the only means to engage lofty metaphysical issues, but inappropriate for all other matters. For everything save metaphysics, reason is both necessary and sufficient, and it is with this division of intellectual labour that Western modernity was founded. With this position taken by Kant, restricting religion to an important set of metaphysical concerns protects its privileges against state intrusion, but restricts its activity and influence to this specialized sphere (Lincoln, 2003).

The Kantian approach nevertheless is far from useful in explaining the current global trend of the return of religion in many secular territories, and in setting up the foundation which needs to be applied in this research. In reality, the contemporary return of religion goes beyond the transcendental border and encroaches the area in which faiths were once totally banned. It is in conjunction with this phenomenon that the main thesis of this research is to be constructed. In determining a presupposition to present the focal idea of this research, which is to introduce Islamic values as part of the contemporary governance discourse, the ground for such debate must initially be prepared. Through the employment of Taylor's multiple modernities approach, the following argument deals with such concerns. However, a philosophical introduction to how religion constructs an alternative solution for governance is essential.

Religion from the consequential and functional perspectives will lead society to appreciate the innate precariousness of the *nomos* (meaningful order) (Tipton, 1984: 282−84). Equally, from a phenomenological perspective, religion gives the human race a "sacred canopy" against the threat of the meaninglessness (*anomie*) of the world (Berger, 1967: 28). However, the modern positivistic approach to the discourse of development and governance which devalues religion and other normative elements to stress the quantifiable aspects of human experience rather than the meaning will never be an efficient tool for the functionalist view of religion. The only choice is to shift towards more interpretative and

consequentialistic approaches, which seek to interpret human action and focus on understanding the meanings people give to their own actions and the consequence of those actions to the topic of study, which in this research is development and good governance. The emphasis hence is moved from mere observation and description (what is) to understanding (why and how) hence challenging the conventional value-free proposition of positivism (Thompson and Woodward, 2000: 52−3).

With regard to the "why" and "how" questions posed earlier, philosophy of ethics represents a useful tool to understand the significant nature of religion. For instance, the philosophy of ethics raises the question of goodness. This question results in many ethical theories which lead to different conclusions or answers to the question of "What should one do?" or "How should one live?" (i.e. Kantian ethics, Aristotelian ethics, Mill's utilitarianism, etc.). In the same line, it also examines moral claims, which underpin a society's core values and social norms. Akin to other ethical and moral theories, religion as another source of ethics and established doctrines provides substantial answers to those questions. By applying the typology of tradition (according to the definition by Alasdair MacIntyre, 2007 [1981])),[3] religion is to be understood as a conception of "what good living is about," which is then expressed through social practices performed by believers. Within such concepts, we could conceptualise an early assumption of how religion (as a set of ethical propositions along with its theoretical structure) would fit into the discourse of development and governance.

Similar to the tradition typology of religion, Lincoln's (2003: 5−7) deconstruction of religion brings another holistic view in explaining the nature of religion. In defining the concept, Lincoln attributes four domains of what he called polythetic and flexible, as the characteristics of religion: (i) It entails a transcendental discourse (from its claims to authority and truth); (ii) It imposes a set of practices with the goal of producing a proper world according to the religious discourses to which the practices are connected; (iii) It requires a community whose members construct their identity with reference to the religious discourse and its practices; (iv) It depends on institutions that regulate religious discourse, practices, and community, reproducing them over time and modifying them as necessary, while asserting their eternal validity and transcendental value. Lincoln also implicitly constructed religion with a beyond-transcendental and more comprehensive framework. Such a definition also implies a maximalist type of religion unlike the Kantian (and other) minimalists.

Furthermore, religion as a form of ethical doctrine could profoundly act as an agent to attain the internal good in development through its doctrines on social cohesion, mutual co-operation and virtue-based community. Practically, the process of development is not an axiological neutral human activity, but like other activities, it is impregnated with values and ethics (Cortina, 2007). Apart from mainstream liberal economic ethics (i.e. efficiency, competitiveness, economic growth, human rights, etc.) there are also other culturally traditional ethics and religious ethics that are worth incorporating into the discourse. It is from this premise that the Aristotelian concept of *praxis* is worth employing to explain how ethics and tradition could encourage society to cooperate in the attainment of *telos* (internal good)[4] and the same goes for religion.

Following this line of argument, governance encompasses the discourse of politics, economics and public administration, and is thus value-loaded at its most elementary level and shaped by individual values derived from individual worldviews, as part of individual social construct. Since factors affecting worldviews differ, different worldviews exist leading to different systems for different people (Asutay, 2007). Religion and faith are amongst the major determining factors that fundamentally construct worldviews. The meaning (*nomos*) that religion brings through its ontological dimension leads to the construction of distinguishing narratives to development through the governance process. Accordingly, this distinctive religion-based framework represents the endogeneity of non-Western discourses on governance, hence creating narratives instead of the meta-narrative of the modernist projection of universal values. According to the previously mentioned multiple modernities framework, the acknowledgement of other worldviews allows religion to play a role in the creation of alternative means in the realm of governance. The following section explains the more significant role of religion in development as the aim of governance, through the explanation of how religion could be articulated in development, theoretically and empirically.

ARTICULATION OF RELIGION IN DEVELOPMENT

As previously mentioned, the concept of secularization has been amongst the major prevailing elements of modernity. Secularization can be understood in ways which religions and faiths are unwelcomed in the public sphere, which amongst others, includes the realm of governance.

Nevertheless, a closer scrutiny of the subject from the sociology of religion approach as well as anthropology and other current approaches, might show that a certain degree of religion is being accepted beyond its Kantian metaphysical border within the modernity project. Similar to the approaches mentioned in looking into the response towards modernity, the subsequent arguments look into rationality and how religion still has the dynamism to exist and function in secular territories including having an impact on development.

In his effort to understand the way in which religion can find its place and function in the public sphere, Casanova (1994: 5−6) employs a sociological approach in proposing the concept of "deprivatization" of religion. He explains how secularization (as one of the landmarks of modernity) would allow religion and faith to enter its public sphere in a homeostatic way through the current global uprising of religions around the world.[5] As there is no monolithic way of explaining the nature of the relationship between secularization and religion, he insists that this new phenomenon is not a continuation of the decline of the established *caesaro-papist* church that has been rejected and declined after the final blow it received from the modernity project.

In the same way secularization, as a process of differentiation between various spheres (economic, social, political, religious, etc.) and the social and scientific spheres, progressively emancipated itself from the prism of religious institutions and norms. This differentiation process leads to the deprivatization of religion, where religion refuses to be relegated to the private sphere. At the same time, its claim to enter the public sphere left to it by the process of differentiation that is civil society, redefines the very boundaries of the differentiated spheres. Thus, civil society has been a field where the deprivatization of religion has found a way to escape from mere private territories into the supposedly secular realm. Through this new space, religious institutions and organizations pose their repudiation to the *status quo* of positivism by bringing the interconnection of private and public morality, and by challenging the claims of moral spheres and renormativisation of the public economic and political spheres (Casanova, 1994: 5−6).

From another sociological point of view, the social norms approach could also explain the consequence of religions as a set of values for social practices (Raz, 1999, 2003). This approach claims that values would be meaningless without shared social practices to sustain them (i.e. solidarity, freedom, taxation, mutual co-operation, caring, etc.). Values seen

as "irreducibly social good," are inherent in numerous social relation-ships such as family, trade unions, interest groups, religious communi-ties, or those bound by a common history or language (Taylor, 1995). These social norms contribute a large degree of involvement towards development through civil society and social capital. This situation is supported by the way faith-based or faith-inspired organizations and movements vigorously utilize the environment to articulate their ideals, hence good governance and development.

Similarly, the anthropologist Talal Asad (1993) rejects the traditional anthropological perception of religion as mere symbols that resemble a system of meanings.[6] He maintains that religion needs coercion, through law and power, to make individuals act according to religious precepts; it also presents social embodiment and constitutive activities of the world which implies the need for a set of practices to express the beliefs, as well as discipline (by institutional structures) to enforce them and a community of believers in which this discipline is exercised and enjoys their allegiance and serves as the base of their identity. Due to the needs of social and public spaces to exercise religious beliefs, he concludes that the religious world and the social world are inseparable, and interact in an interdependent and mutual manner. Akin to the previous argument, the recent global return of religion into the public sphere exemplifies this anthropological theory.

It is rather interesting to discover that even the founder of the liberal market economy, Adam Smith (1976: 189−814) also acknowledged the contribution of religion in the realm of the *laissez-faire* economy. In his *magnum opus An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Smith explains the role of established clergy towards the market-oriented economic development process through the "moral enforcement" mechanism. The values of honesty and integrity as a determination of the veracity of business ethics are essential for the enhancement of busi-ness activities. He further advocated an "open market" and "freedom of speech" for all religious groups so that rational discussion about differ-ent religious beliefs and practices can create an environment of "good temper and moderation," which is essential for sustained growth and de-velopment (Smith, 1976: 793−94). This indeed indicates that even at the beginning of political economy, religion and values were perceived to be important factors shaping individual choices and behaviour, which in-deed came to an end with Marshalian revolution.

Similarly, Khan and Bashar (2008) deconstruct the functions of religion and present the way through which religion can contribute to development from several dimensions. For instance, Islamic ethics will affect productivity through certain personal traits of ethics, thrift, honesty, and openness to people. Furthermore, the enhancement of economic growth and development by promoting a positive attitude toward honesty may increase levels of trust and reduce levels of corruption and criminal activities. Religious rituals on the other hand also play a significant role in economic activities by promoting in-group trust and cooperation that help overcome collective-action problems. In the meantime, religions also exert a positive impact on human capital by enhancing education levels through the encouragement of seeking knowledge to epitomize wisdom. All these motivations will accumulate the creation of "social capital," which is essential to growth and development, hence good governance and vice versa (Marshall, 2005; Haynes, 2007).

By following this line of argument, it seems that religion acts substantively as a catalyst for the accumulation of "social capital"[7] and thereby growth, which is a widely-accepted norm in development literature (with different kinds of interpretations and definitions). Following the successive emphasis on physical capital, human capital and knowledge capital, researchers find adding "social capital" to growth models as an explanatory variable enhances the explanatory powers of growth and development models in an indigenized manner (Khan and Bashar, 2008).

"Social capital" refers to social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness, which arises from connections between individuals in the same way as physical capital (accumulated by physical objects and human capital) and refers to the properties of individuals. In this way, social capital can be depicted closely to what some have called "civic virtue" (Putnam, 2000: 19). Collier (1998) on the other hand, in explaining how social capital can contribute towards overcoming the issue of poverty, characterizes social capital as the internal social and cultural coherence of society, the norms and values that govern interactions between people, and the institutions in which they are embedded. Social capital, hence, has a significant impact on economic advancement through social networking, which acquires positive externalities and facilitates joint action for mutual benefit outside the market.

Collier (1998: 16−7) further divides social capital into two categories: the civil social capital (non-official) and government social capital (offi-

cial). The former refers to micro cooperation and coordination which govern interactions between individuals as economic agents through trust, solidarity, fraternity, reciprocity and interpersonal networks, while the latter incorporates the benefits of law, order, property rights, education, health and good governance. Through social capital, transaction costs and information costs could be reduced, thus making physical capital and human capital more productive. In this spirit, religion as both the foundation (source) and framework for civil social capital contributes to the building of networks in society.

Despite the externalities that it may produce (and has already produced in many cases), religion, as a motivation for social capital, works very well to enhance the role of civil society, participation, poverty and corruption eradication, education and accountability. The effects of religion on social capital and development can be seen in the contemporary empirical studies, which show how the current global uprising of religion contributes to the fields of political-economy and social sphere. As discussed earlier, social capital is also able to generate public order through the production of good citizens who live in mutual cooperation, mutual assistance transcending conflicts, and striving to establish social stability, which are vital in good governance (Coleman, 1990; Newton, 1997), as these lead to capacity development for economic development in communities.

Marshall (2005: 8−12), however, suggests that religion and faith can play a greater role in development beyond civil society and social capital parameters. In the paper "Faith and Development: Rethinking Development Debates," she proposes that religion can give hope and meaning to the lives of millions of people through their teachings on core values which are essential to human relationships. This will balance the distribution of wealth through philanthropic missions of faith organizations to help poor communities. The paper also maintains that faith is another motivational factor for engagement towards development. This has been proven through the global Millennium Development Goal agenda throughout the world in developing educational sectors, dialogue and health issues. In terms of conflicts, faith organizations have also played a tremendous role in providing solutions, preventions and humanitarian support. Faith communities have also contributed immensely towards the recovery of many post-conflict and post-calamity situations. The post-December 2004 tsunami is a prevailing example.

RELIGION AND GOVERNANCE: EMPIRICAL CASES FROM THE PERIPHERY

Much has been produced in exploring the empirical evidence to show that faith, ethical and moral-based approaches can fit into the discourse of development (Marshall, 2005; Haynes, 2007). Amongst them are the studies done on the co-relation between the efficiency of the bureaucratic system and development with Confucius ethics in some East Asian countries (Frederickson, 2002; Harris, 1990). Despite its authoritarian approach, it was proven and acknowledged that the Confucian traditions brought rapid growth to some of the countries (Frederickson, 2002; Harris, 1990; Dellios, 2005). Some argue that not only did the Western-rule-of-law based governance fail to manage complex social problems with laws and regulations but they also witnessed relentless calls for greater morality amongst their leaders.

Likewise, Roman Catholic social teachings, particularly those since *Populorum Progressio,* articulate a faith-based view of development in which the contributions of spiritual disciplines and of ethical action to a person's "vocation to human fulfilment" are addressed alongside contributions made by markets, public policy, and poverty reduction (Reed 2001: 21−30). Meanwhile in Central and Southern Latin America, further visions of development have arisen in the liberation theologies by some radical Catholic priests,[8] who criticize structural injustice and call for greater religious engagement in political and economic institutions to ensure equitable development processes. Their cause and struggle aim to awaken the people to rise up against the causes of their poverty and deprivation, and recognize development as liberation through political education and conscientization. Many point out that these began with the publication of Gustavo Gutierrez's *Theology of Liberation,* and distinct liberation theologies have emerged on other major faiths accordingly (Gutiérrez, 1988; Rowland, 1999; Akhtar, 1991; Phongphit, 1988; Gillingham, 2005).

On the other hand, religions and faiths also play a pro-active role in the field of civil society, particularly in the field of social capital, which is amongst the major factors in the political economic life of a country, as well as its governance. The *Global Civil Society Report* 2004/5 (5) argues that:

There is no way we can understand the logic, strategies and dynamics of civil society anywhere in the Third World unless we bring the transcendental dimension back into our analysis. Religious devotion is a fundamental motive for many social movements in the South, from Latin America to Africa and South Asia. (See also Romero, 2001: 475−90)

Political and social movements and advocacy campaigns have often drawn upon religious motivations and the support of religious leaders. For instance, the churches' mobilization in support of the anti-apartheid campaign and the Jubilee campaign for debt forgiveness was central to their political visibility.[9] In this vein, the Catholic Church was also among the parties mobilized in support of literacy in Latin America (Casanova, 1994: 3−10; Mandeville, 2001).

The emergence of what is known nowadays as global (non-violent) political Islamic movements in the Muslim world has to some extent contributed towards the democracy and good governance process. Their contribution can be clearly seen in the constant struggle against corruption and administrative misconduct of the mainly undemocratic regimes of Muslim states. It is becoming apparent in most Muslim countries that parties with Islamic aspirations emerge as the voice of the people for reform and criticize the massive extent of corruption committed by the regimes that in many cases lead to poverty and the underdevelopment of most Muslim countries. Through the democratic activities of these religious movements, we can see how religion plays a role in the political life of the people (Nasr, 1995; Eickelman and Piscatori, 1996; an-Naim, 1999; el-Affendi, 2003) through constant struggle to produce a "better society."

Consequently, the activities and orientations of those movements manage to influence development on the soil they are on, which they operate to some extent. For the same reason, the Islamism phenomenon also has a significant impact on the social capital of the community in many Muslim nations. Their relentless struggle to provide welfare, charity and education to the people as part of their *modus operandi* benefits a large proportion of the community in which they live. The movements also rigorously manipulate the vacuum left by most of the Middle Eastern and North African states ruled by autocratic and corrupted regimes. Despite their initial aim, which is to spread their ideologies as well as for recruitment purposes and using the activities as the pretext, the movements have contributed massively toward tackling many social problems that the regimes have regularly overlooked (Bayat, 2007; Harrigan and El-Said, 2009).

In the field of socio-economic development, the active involvement of religion in governance can be seen through faith-based organizations' (FBO) activities. These organizations, whether local, national, or international, within the larger picture of civil society, are significant purveyors of education, service delivery and other non-market activities. Many of the efforts are driven out of their religious motivation and consciousness of their duty in spreading the values to which they adhere (Ferris, 2005). For example, the most popular and greatest efforts to be studied belonged to the Christian evangelical development agency, World Vision (Myers, 1999). In 2003, they had a cash budget of US $819 million, and an effective budget of US $1.25 billion due to in-kind contributions, which were later utilized for their evangelical works around the globe (World Vision, 2003).

Another famous example is the Buddhist self-governance *Savordhaya Shramadana* Movement in Sri Lanka, which managed to mobilize its members to develop the underdeveloped rural and suburban areas in the country. Inspired by Ghandi,[10] the movement, established by Dr A.T. Arayatne, provided people with educational means, health, communications and job opportunities, which enhanced the economy of the people (Zadek, 1993; Kumar 2003).[11] Akin to those FBOs, the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), Islamic Relief, Catholic Relief Services, the Aga Khan Development Network and others also deliver significant resources hence contributing to the development of many countries worldwide. According to the holistic contemporary technical definition of governance, these organizations effectively mobilized the third sector to cultivate development and eradicate poverty (Fukuyama, 2001; OECD, 1995; Ghaus-Pasha, 2005: 2; Ikekeonwu et al., 2007).

This is what inspired the establishment of the World Faiths Development Dialogue in 1998 to become a platform for different religions and faiths and the multilateral development agencies of James Wolfensohn and Lord Carey, then Archbishop of Canterbury (Tyndale, 2003: 26). The World Bank's *World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for the Poor*, also maintains that religious schools, institutions and organizations in many countries were referred to frequently as effective delivery mechanisms for the people. The report also highlights the importance of faith groups in providing services, emphasizing the importance of people's participation in planning and running them, as well as to make the services accessible to all levels of the community voluntarily (WFDD,

2003). It should also be mentioned that the World Bank's *Faiths and Environment: World Bank Support 2000−5* Report stresses that many positive engagements and the efficient role of faith organizations and institutions around the globe have contributed proportionately towards the preservation of the environment and sustainability of their countries with the support given by the World Bank (World Bank, 2006).

Having said all that, the involvement of faith in civil society and the social capital sphere emerged to fill the gap in the current Western-oriented liberal system of governance. Despite the role they played, the discourse of development based on religious precepts was not well developed as a separate discipline of knowledge from the religions' unique ontological roots, but rather a mere response to certain circumstances and realities. In fact, evaluation of the existence of religions or faiths or culturally-inspired factors along with their paradigms were still viewed and evaluated using the conventional economic paradigm, without any appreciation of their own unique cultural cognitive paradigm. Furthermore, the variables used to evaluate the rationale of incorporating religion or culture into the current governance paradigm still represent considerable bias in favour of Eurocentric modernity values in examining the subject.

CONCLUSION

Since religion and culture-based models are as rational as conventional paradigms in economic development and governance areas, exploration of culture and faith as alternatives for the conventional Western paradigm requires a formulation that is based on their unique worldviews, epistemologies, histories, and the arts (Alatas, 2001: 59) and not just merely filling in the gaps in the existing system. It must also appreciate and acknowledge the unique paradigms of religions or cultures in explaining how ideal governance should be, with the objective of galvanizing the concept for the acceptability of the societies in which such concepts will work out. In this case, the establishment of such alternative epistemological paradigms should precede the exploration of its mechanisms. Moreover, religion or cultural-based paradigms, as alternatives to their relevant surroundings, are creative, non-imitative and original, non-essentialist, counter-Eurocentric, autonomous from the state, and autonomous from other national or transnational groupings (Alatas, 2001: 59).

The proposed approach in terms of endogenizing culture and religion despite its radical nature must not be interpreted as or lead to the consequences of the total rejection of what is "Western." The Western experience,[12] especially in the field of governance, without doubt has given a great deal of benefit to human history. The systems, mechanisms, tools and institutions that operate within the modern Western atmospheres have indeed delivered justice to their inhabitants under the banner of freedom and democracy. Development, high quality of life, efficient welfare system, eradication of tyrants and depriving regimes, accountability, transparency, and respect for the rights of others are amongst the intrinsic universal values of most cultures and societies. Instead of emerging as rivals to the conventional Western paradigms, they would enrich them and widen the current parameters, thereby transforming them from closed paradigms based upon modern Western assumptions into open-ended universal human paradigms based on knowledge of all cultural formations in all of their specificities and manifestations and attempt to arrive at a higher level of abstraction and, therefore, universality (el-Messiri, 2006: xiv).

In accordance with the previous rationale, Sardar's (1989: 7) assertion that the pluralist world demands from people of different cultures to work out "their own ways of being, doing and knowing" is worth acknowledging. Such an effort will lead to the construction of cultures' own "science and technologies," hence undertaking "their own civilization project" instead of blindly imitating the Eurocentric paradigms. Furthermore, he maintains that no civilization can retain its vitality if it does not possess its own science, just as the American sciences can be said to be different from Europe's.

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[1] This paper is part of my PhD thesis, MALIK, MASZLEE (2011) Constructing the Architectonics and Formulating the Articulation of Islamic Governance: A Discursive Attempt in Islamic Epistemology, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/832/.

[2] By applying MacIntyre's Aristotelian insight into the role of tradition in human life, Cortina (2007: 5−6) concludes that traditional bond can motivate the work of development by motivating the society to attain the *internal goods* within certain *ethical and moral frameworks* through the cultivation of *virtues* by *different social agents* according to certain *models* facilitated by political, economic, and citizens' *institutions* based on specific *philosophical foundation*. With such a framework, she claims that people are not means for other ends, but are valuable in themselves.

[3] According to MacIntyre (2007 [1981]) in his 'After Virtue,' the Enlightenment Project that negates traditional morality has failed. We are now left with the remnants of the traditional system that can sustain us. In the book, he also argues for the continued validity of the Aristotelian attempt to ground moral thinking in the virtues, those qualities which develop in us as we seek a vision of the good, striving in collaboration with others towards ends which disclose themselves more fully as we pursue them. He declares liberal individualism to be at odds with this tradition. MacIntyre was accused of being a relativist due to his in profound rejection of absolutist morality. In the prologue of the 2007 edition, MacIntyre suggests: "... the best type of human life, that in which the virtues is most adequately embodied, is lived by those engaged in constructing and sustaining forms of community directed toward the shared achievement of those common goods without which the ultimate human good cannot be achieved."

[4] By applying MacIntyre's Aristotelian insight into the role of tradition in human life, Cortina (2007: 5−6) concludes that traditional bonds can motivate the work of development in motivating society to attain the 'internal good' within certain ethical and moral frameworks through the cultivation of virtues by different social agents according to certain models facilitated by political, economic, and citizens' institutions based on specific philosophical foundation. With such framework, she claims that people are not means for other ends, but are valuable in themselves.

[5] Berger (1999) coins such situation as the 'desecularisation' of the world.

[6] Here, Asad was replying to the traditional anthropological definition established by Clifford Geertz (1973) that views a religion as (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by

(3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

[7] Social capital is a post-Washington Consensus trend to explain the role of social networks and society in cultivating the economic prosperity and sustainable development. Smith (2000-2009) argues that the notion of social capital first appeared in Hanifan's discussions of rural school community centres (see, Hanifan 1916, 1920). The term was used to describe "those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people" (1916: 130), which is particularly concerned with the cultivation of good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among those that 'make up a social unit.' However, it took some time for the term to move into academic debates before Jacobs (1961) utilized the term to coin the "relation to urban life and neighbourliness," and Bourdieu (1983) with regard to social theory, and then Coleman (1988) in his discussions of the social context of education. Finally, the term culminates as a popular term in defining the social relation as another tool for development through the works of Putnam (1993; 2000). It was Putnam who successfully introduced the social capital as a popular focus for research and policy discussion.

[8] The Liberation theologies confirm that solidarity with the oppressed has become a religious practice. They believe that any discourse of good governance (such as democracy, human rights, the rule of law and the free market are baseless when social and political relationships derive their authority from a basically unjust and exploitative social order (Kumar, 2003: 19).

[9] The Jubilee 2000 campaign for the cancellation of the unpayable debt of the most highly indebted countries demonstrates the efficiency and how the strong influence of religious organizations could be when they are mobilized as a collective lobby. It also proves that religious actors can play active roles beyond the monasteries and ritual-spiritual issues, and can also act as purveyors of moral values which are important in bringing a fairer deal for a global egalitarian and holistic development agenda (Tyndale, 2003: 26).

[10] Ghandian *gram-seva* (village service) ideal has been the basic philosophy for his notion of development. The idea reflects that service was fundamental to community uplift. According to Ghandi, development as part of the nature akin to life and time is cyclical. Development according to him is not a process of human endeavour but rather a process of life. 'Service' is thus to find a sense of satisfaction in service and not in its outcomes and targets. Service is to build a society based on compassion and respect where diverse cultures, religions and ethnicities could flourish together. This very ideal is derived from the cardinal principles of the Hindu worldview, '*Seva*' (service) which aims to create an interdependent and harmonious society based on sharing and caring. (Kumar, 2003: 16−17).

[11] The famous slogan used to get its members to participate in the voluntary activities was "We build the road and the road builds us", see: http://www.sarvodaya.org/.

[12] This will take into consideration both the institutional dimension of modernity (Giddens, 1990) and the cultural project of modernity (Habermas, 1996), which are inter-related, in developing the modernity project.